

Message Text

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USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 VIENNA 9287

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING

NOVEMBER 7, 1973-MORNING SESSION

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AD HOC GROUP HEARD REPORTS ON BILATERALS WITH POLISH AND ROMANIAN REPS. POLISH REP HAD INDICATED THAT PACT WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER REDUCTIONS IN PHASES, WITH FIRST PHASE LIMITED TO FOREIGN FORCES. NEW ROMANIAN POINT WAS A PROPOSAL THEY INTEND TO MAKE IN NOVEMBER 13 PLENARY THAT NEUTRALS BE INVITED TO ADDRESS MBFR MEETINGS PERIODICALLY. GROUPD ALSO APPROVED TEXT OF UK STATEMENT FOR DELIVERY AT NOVEMBER 8 PLENARY (TEXT SEPTTEL) AND WORKED ON DRAFT OF FRG THEME ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT FOR DELIVERY AT NOVEMBER 13 PLENARY. END SUMMARY.

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2. BILATERALS. FRG REP (BEHREND) REPORTED ON LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH ROMANIAN REP ANTINOIU. THE LATTER EXPOUNED AN IDEA THAT NEUTRALS BE INVITED TO ADDRESS THE CONFERENCE FROM TIME TO TIME, ARGUING THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD WELCOME THIS BECAUSE NEUTRALS WOULD FAVOR WESTERN POSITIONS. FRG REP HAD DEMURRED. ANTINOIU ASKED ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE REMARKS IN ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS REGARDING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, TO WHICH FRG REP HAD REPLIED ALONG THE LINES OF NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) PRESS STATEMENT. ANTINOIU STATED THAT THE PACT FEARED THAT THE WEST WANTED TO PUT ASSOCIATED MEASURES AHEAD OF REDUCTIONS, WHILE THE PACT STATES THOUGHT THEY SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH REDUCTIONS.

3. UK REP (ROSE) REPORTED MEETING ANTINOIU SHORTLY AFTER LATTER'S MEETING WITH FRG REP AND SAID ANTINOIU HAD COVERED SAME GROUND WITH HIM. ANTONOIU HAD ALSO MENTIONED THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND AGAIN EXPRESSED FEAR THAT PLENARIES WOULD BECOME A MERE RITUAL TO RATIFY AGREEMENTS REACHED IN OUTSIDE MEETINGS. UK REP HAD TOLD ANTINOIU THAT WESTERN SIDE WAS FULLY PREPARED FOR OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS AND THERE WAS NO NEED TO HAVE FRUITLESS MINOR DISCUSSIONS IN PLENARIES. ANTINOIU THEN REFERRED TO QUESTION OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH NEUTRALS AND SUGGESTED THAT IF THIS PRACTICE WERE DESIRABLE, IT WOULD BE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED IN A PLENARY COMMUNIQUE. UK REP HAD ASSURED ANTONOIU THAT NEUTRALS WOULD BE KEPT INFORMED, HAD EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT THE WARSAW PACT SIDE WOULD AGREE TO ANYTHING OF THE SORT, AND HAD CONCLUDED THAT THERE WERE ENOUGH PROBLEMS TO BE DEALT WITH IN PLENARIES WITHOUT ADDING YET ANOTHER POINT OF DISSENTION AND ONE ON A PERIPHERAL MATTER.

4. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) REPORTED A MEETING WITH POLISH REP STRULAK. HE HAD TOLD STRULAK THAT WESTERN SIDE WAS GENERALLY PLEASED WITH STRULAK'S STATEMENT. STRULAK HAD REPLIED THAT THE PACT STATES COULD NOT REPLY TO WESTERN OPENING STATEMENTS POINT BY POINT AND HAD DECIDED THAT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE WAS BEST WAY TO REPLY AND INDICATE THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE FRAME OF MIND ON THE NEGOTIATIONS. STRULAK SAID WESTERN SIDE WOULD HEAR PACT REACTION FROM SOVIET REP KHLESTOC NOVEMBER 8. BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) SAID HE HAD CRITICIZED POLISH REP'S SIDEFINITION OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AS TOO RESTRICTIVE, SINCE IT APPEARED TO COVER ONLY THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. POLISH REP DENIED THIS AND SAID CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WOULD BENEFIT FROM MEASURES, INCLUDING FLANKS. POLISH REP'S QUESTIONS ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF ROMANIAN REP. HE ASKED WHETHER DISCUSSION OF THEM WAS GOING TO DELAY ACTION ON REDUCTION. HE AGREED THAT THERE COULD BE ASSOCIATED MEASURES RELATED TO REDUCTIONS, BUT FEARED THAT THE WEST WOULD WANT ASSOCIATED MEASURES TO COME FIRST. IN REPLY, BELGIAN REP COMPARED THE SITUATION WITH THAT OF TWO MEN BUYING EACH OTHER'S HOUSES. EACH NATURALLY WANTED TO INSPECT

THE GARDEN TO MAKE SURE THAT NO APPLE TREES WERE MOVED BEFORE THE CONTRACT WAS SIGNED. POLISH REP ASKED ABOUT AN ALLIED DESIRE FOR REASSURANCE THAT MEASURES WOULD NOT PROHIBIT MOVES TOWARD EUROPEAN UNION. BELGIAN DEP REP MADE PARALLEL WITH PROBLEM IN GENEVA (I.E., CSCE) SECOND BASKET, WHICH WAS THE SAME. BELGIUMS TOLD STRULAK WESTERN CONCERN OVER EUROPEAN COOPERATION WOULD NOT PRESENT A PROBLEM FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT MERELY AFFECTED MODALITIES. POLISH REP HAD ASKED HOW STRONGLY WEST FELT ABOUT PHASES. POLAND WAS NOT OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO PHASING OF REDUCTIONS, BUT FEARED THE POLAND WOULD LOSE THE BENEFITS OF MBFR IF REDUCTIONS BEGAN WITH PHASE I AND THEN STOPPED. POLAND DID NOT WANT TO BE LEFT OUT. BELGIAN DEP REP SAID HE GAINED IMPRESSION THAT POLES ARE IN MINORITY POSITION ON THIS QUESTIONS IN THEIR OWN CAMP AND ARE NOT WHOLLY SUPPORTED BY SOVIETS. POLES ARE EAGER TO BE INCLUDED IN THE FIRST PHASE IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO REDUCE THEIR BUDGET BUT SEEM TO BE OVERRULED BY THE SOVIETS. LAST WEEK STRULAK HAD SEEMED MORE CERTAIN OF HIS GROUND ON THIS MATTER. US DEP REP NOTED THAT FRG FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL RECENTLY RAISED QUESTION WITH GROMYKO WHETHER BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN FORCES WOULD BE DISCUSSED. GROMYKO HAD REPLIED YES, BUT THAT DID NOT AFFECT SEQUENCE IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE DISCUSSED. US REP SAID THAT GROMYKO IMPLIED THAT SOVIET SIDE WAS MORE INCLINED TO PHASING THAN POLES. NETHERLANDS REP RECALLED THAT WHEN HE HAD VISITED WARSAW OVER THE SUMMER, THE POLES HAD INSISTED ON REDUCING ALL FORCES TOGETHER. ITALIAN ACTING REP (TALIANI) NOTED THAT IN SPRING POLISH REP HAD IMPLIED

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 513

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

HE WAS WILLING TO HAVE US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS FIRST, BUT ADMITTED THAT HAD BEEN A LONG TIME AGO. FRG REP RECALLED THAT HE HAD SUGGESTED TO HIS GDR COLLEAGUE THAT REDUCTIONS WERE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE GDR, AND HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE POLES AND CZECHS WERE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN REDUCTION OF THEIR FORCES AND OTHER EUROPEAN FORCES.

5. AHG REPORT TO NATO COUNCIL. CHAIRMAN (GREEK REP DOUNTAS) RAISED POSSIBILITY THAT NAC MIGHT REQUEST WRITTEN REPORT FROM AHG REPRESENTATIVES, BUT THIS WAS DISCOUNTED BY BELGIAN REP. NATO STAFF REP (COHEN) REPORTED THAT HE HAD SENT CABLE REQUESTING PERMISSION FOR AHG GROUP REPS TO SIT TOGETHER DURING REPORT. (DURING AHG MEETING HE RECEIVED A CALL GIVING ASSENT.)

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6. FRG STATEMENT ON FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND COMMON CEILING. AHG TURNED TO DISCUSSION OF US-CORRECTED DRAFT OF EARLIER DRAFT OF STATEMENT. GEMAN DEP REP (HOFFMANN) NOTED THAT DRAFT NOW CONCENTRATED ON ONE MAJOR DISPARITY, GROUND FORCES, THUS CLOSING POSSIBLE OPENING FOR EAST SET FORTH ITS OWN IDEA OF PARITY COVERING AIR FORCE AND NUCLEARS. UK REP, SUPPORTED BY OTHERS, URGED INCLUSION OF REFERENCE TO COMBAT CAPABILITY, EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT THE PAPER LEFT IMPRESSION OF NEGLKCTING ARMAMENTS. US DEP REP WARNED THAT APPEARING TO CALL FOR AN ACROSS-THE BOARD PARITY ON EVERYTHING WOULD REOPEN POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET MISUSE. PAPER WOULD LOGICALLY REQUIRE A SEQUENCE OF (A) FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES FOLLOWED BY (B) PARITY-COMMON CEILING IDEA. PARITY SHOULD BE LINKED TO COMMON CEILING AND PRESENTED AS A VARIANT OF COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IN ORDER TO INHIBIT SOVIET EFFORTS TO MISURE CONCEPT. IT WAS AGREED THAT A PASSAGE BE INSERTED NOTING THAT MANNER IN WHICH REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON CEILING ARE TO BE CARRIED OUT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DEPLOYMENT OF RORCES.

8. FRG REP QUESTIONED WISDOM OF SINGLING OUT ONE BRANCH OF WARSAW PACT ARMED FORCES (GROUND FORCES) LEST THEY SINGLE OUT ONE OF

WEST'S. US REP REPLIED THAT US HAD SINGLED OUT GROUND FORCES
BECAUSE THEY WERE THE NUB OF THE CONFRONTATION AND WITHOUT THEM
THERE WOULD BE NO EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION. ITALIAN REP WARNED THAT
THE SOVIETS MAY WISH TO ENLARGE THE AREA. US DEP REP REPLIED THAT
THEY HAD ALREADY AGREED TO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. OTHER CHANGES
AGREED WERE PRIMARILY GRAMMATICAL, STYLISTIC, OR NUANCED. FRG
AGREED TO PROVIDE A REVISED TEXT OF NOVEMBER 8 MEETING. GROUP
AGREED THAT TEXTS SHOULD IN THE FUTURE BE PREPARED BY AN
OPEN-ENDED DRAFT GROUP. THE GROUP AGREED TO SUGGESTION OF
ITALIAN REP OF A CONCEPTUAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS PRIOR TO FUTURE
DRAFTING GROUP SESSIONS. HUMES

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